

# AFRICA



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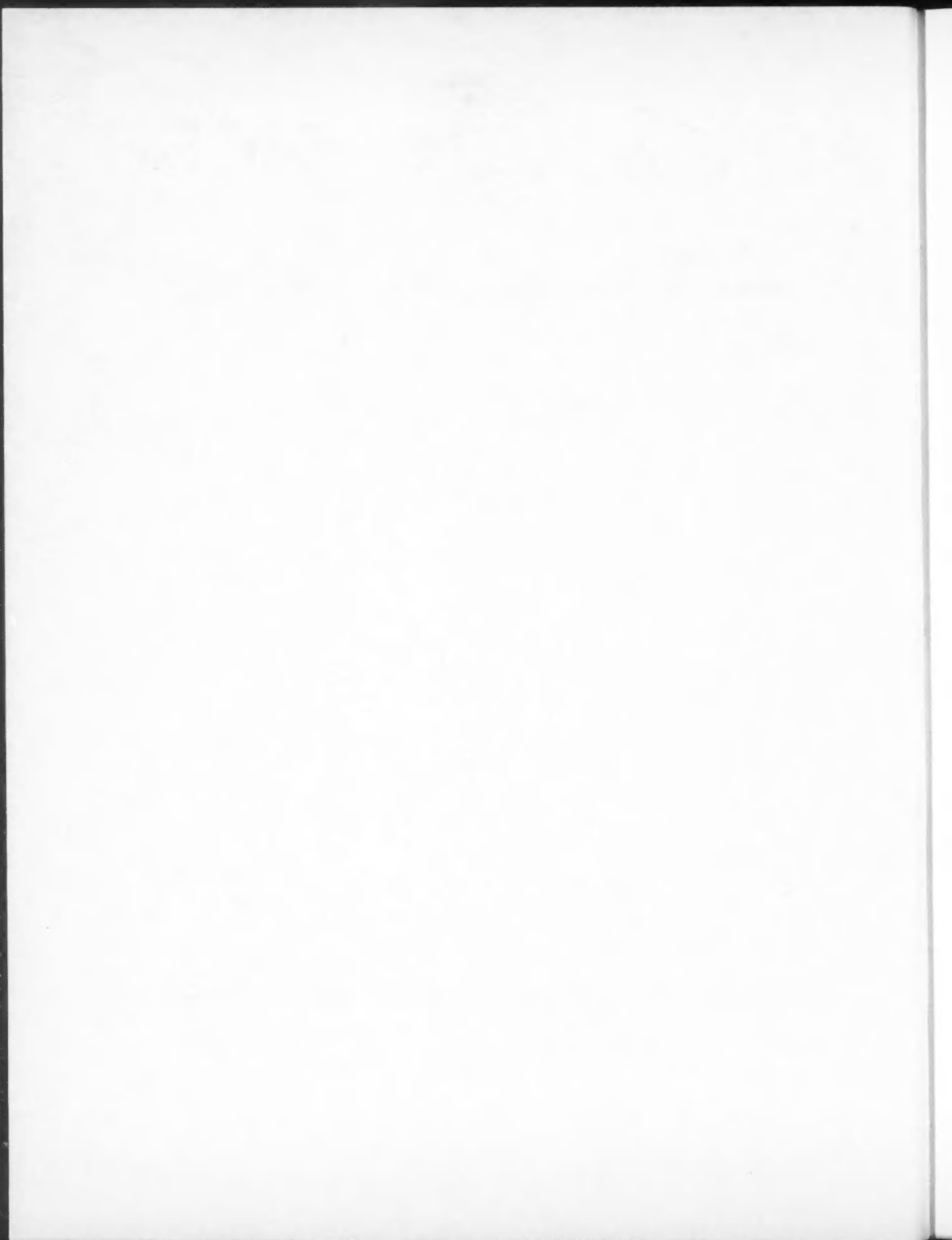
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## African Affairs

There has been a notable increase in this country during the last year or two, of interest in African affairs—to some extent in the Colonial countries generally, but in Africa especially. It has shown itself, among other ways, in the springing up of a number of local "councils for African affairs," in sympathetic contact but not organically connected with the Africa Bureau, which was established in London in 1951. Such councils have commonly three main objects: to study African questions; to provide a forum for African speakers particularly for those whose views do not find expression through official channels; and to help Africans living here, whether as students or in employment, to surmount the frequent difficulties of strangers in a strange land. The stimulus which brought the earlier ones into being was the heart-searching controversy over federation in Central Africa: further stimuli have not been lacking since. The Manchester and District Council for African Affairs (which held its annual meeting this week) seems to have been the first in the field, and has remained one of the most active since, especially in the third kind of work; it dates from January, 1953, and the then Dean (Bishop J. L. Wilson, now Bishop of Birmingham) played a great part in its inception. Indeed, the movement finds its main support everywhere in the Christian Churches, the Liberal party, and to some extent the Labour party. The Scottish Council for African Questions appeared in February, 1953; the Sheffield Africa Committee and the Buxton Africa Forum about the same time; the Tyneside Africa Council in April. After a lull growth has started again this year, with similar bodies in Leeds, Oldham, Birmingham, Cambridge. Bolton is to follow soon. No doubt these will not be the last.

This movement would have been worth while if it had done nothing else than provide platforms for Africans critical of official policy; for it is right that the voice of dissenters should be heard, whether they are right or wrong, and there is little chance of their voices being audible

in this country if they speak only in their own. This function should be maintained. But it would be a pity if the movement were to concentrate on this alone, or were to attract to membership only those whose minds are already made up in a partisan sense. Sympathy with African aspirations, and understanding of African fears, is welcome in this country. Knowledge of Africa is no less important; of the geographical, the economic, the cultural background against which all African problems are to be seen if they are to be seen in true perspective; of the immense variety and strangeness and complexity of this distant world in which we have now so keen a concern. This is not to be had merely by attending a meeting for an hour or so, not even if the meeting is a debate with both sides stated. It needs sustained study, richly rewarding if not always immediately satisfying. Some of the councils or committees concerned have realised this: the Buxton Forum, for instance, launched a W.E.A. class on "Africa South of the Sahara," and when that foundered owing to the loss of its tutor launched a second on the same theme when the season came round. There is surely an ideal meeting ground here between the councils and the responsible bodies in adult education; the difficulty may be in some places to get tutors well enough qualified but it is worth taking trouble to do so. A knowledge of the African background—of the many different backgrounds—will help not only in grasping the essential issues of high policy but also in enriching social contacts with individual Africans encountered here. How many African visitors have not been chilled or outraged by tactless words, the significance of which to them one could not guess without knowing how they would sound in the context of their homes? How can we help them to enjoy and benefit from their stay here unless we have some notion of their lives before and after, their family relationships and customs, all the furniture of the mind which, in our own case, we so readily take for granted?





# WEST AFRICA

## The Gold Coast

### ELECTION RESULTS

THE FINAL state of parties in the Gold Coast House of Assembly is: Convention People's Party 71; Northern People's Party 12; Togoland Congress Party 2; Ghana Congress Party 1; Muslim Association Party 1; Independents 17.

### FIRST ALL-AFRICAN CABINET

The first all-African Cabinet in British Africa consists of:

Prime Minister and Minister of Development  
Minister of State  
Finance  
Interior  
Health  
Agriculture  
Local Government and Housing  
Trade and Labour  
Education  
Works  
Communications

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah  
Mr. Kodjo Botsio  
Mr. Agbeli Gbedemah  
Mr. A. Casely-Hayford  
Mr. Imoru Egala  
Mr. Joseph Jantuah  
Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye  
Mr. Ako Adjei  
Mr. Joseph Allassani  
Mr. Nathaniel Welbeck  
Mr. Aaron Ofori Atta

Under the new Constitution<sup>1</sup> the portfolios of Defence and External Affairs have been removed from the Cabinet as these are retained by the Governor. They will be handled by his newly appointed deputy, Mr. Gordon Hadow.

A correspondent, writing from Accra, commented on Dr. Nkrumah's choice of Ministers as follows:

"Dr. Nkrumah's choice has been favourably accepted by the country barring one or two exceptions. Efficiency, character and ability, rather than party loyalty, characterise the Cabinet selection which is an indication of Nkrumah's mature experience. There are three significant factors: firstly, the settlement of who takes precedence after Nkrumah by the creation of the new post of Minister of State; secondly, the appointment of Aaron Ofori Atta as Minister of Communications—he defeated his uncle, the elder statesman Dr. Danquah. Ofori Atta, who comes from Akim Abukwa 'stool' (Royal household) is expected to strengthen Nkrumah's hand against political uprisings by the chiefs, a possible repercussion of Nkrumah's proposed introduction of constitutional chieftaincy; and thirdly, the political strategy of giving Mr. Allassani and Mr. Egala the Education and Health portfolios respectively—this is regarded as a move towards winning allegiance from the Northerners to the C.P.P. and towards weakening the morale of the Northern People's Party which forms the largest group of parliamentary opposition. Two Ministers of the old Cabinet were not reappointed: Mr. Hutton Mills, a former Minister of Health, has now been appointed as Deputy Commissioner for the Gold Coast in London; there is much speculation about the reasons for the former Labour Minister's demotion—Mr. A. E. Inkumseh is now Ministerial Secretary to the Minister of State."

*The New Commonwealth* (June 24, 1954) commenting on the election results wrote: "The advance of the Gold Coast

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2.

towards self-government was already a potent symbol from Uganda to Nyasaland. Completion of the process will fire African imagination throughout the continent—possibly more slowly in some territories than in others and possibly more slowly under foreign than British rule—but inevitably. For now Africans see an all-African government, put in power by the political system laid down by the White man as proper to a civilised State, effectively in control of a small but prosperous country." The opposition is made up of thirty-three members, and *The New Commonwealth* points out that many represent purely regional interests. "The strongest, the Northern People's Party, embodies the grievances of the under-developed, Moslem north against the educated, richer South. The C.P.P. also won only three out of the six seats in the trusteeship territory of Togoland, leaving two to the strongly regionally-minded Togoland Congress which wants to be joined first with French Togoland, and only to federate with the Gold Coast when more of a size to uphold Ewe interests. These groups will often vote with the C.P.P., and the few C.P.P. rebel candidates who got in, and some of the independents, may join the government party."

A correspondent, who was a returning officer in one of the districts of the Gold Coast has written: "I never saw such peace and orderliness over such a momentous political event in all my life. I returned to Accra at 8.30 p.m. at the head of a fleet of four heavy trucks carrying fifty-seven ballot boxes, Presiding Officers and Police Constables. The vicinity of the Town Hall and the Old Polo Ground was literally swamped with masses of people . . . The next House will have its first woman candidate, the first in our history which has been enriched by the struggles of other people: without having our suffragettes we nevertheless have our first woman M.P.! That is a significant sign of the times for those who would understand."

### FUTURE GOVERNMENT POLICY

Full independence for the Gold Coast is taken for granted both in Whitehall and in Accra, and Dr. Nkrumah has stated that his Government will intensify negotiations with the British Government, but that no date for its achievement could now be stated. *The Observer* (June 20, 1954) wrote: "Dr. Nkrumah is to take immediate steps to establish organisational machinery to promote the idea of a West African Federation, embracing the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia. Although in British official circles such an idea is welcomed, there is some doubt about the wisdom of trying to create formal machinery to expedite it. But for Dr. Nkrumah West African unity has been a life-long dream."

## Togoland

### THE FUTURE STATUS OF BRITISH TOGOLAND<sup>2</sup>

MR. PIERSON DIXON, the permanent Representative for the United Kingdom Government at the United Nations, has sent an explanatory memorandum to the Secretary General on the future of Togoland under British Administration, together with the proposal that this question should be placed on the Agenda for the Ninth Session of the United Nations.

The memorandum stated that in the opinion of the United

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 1.

Kingdom Government it will no longer be constitutionally possible, after the Gold Coast has achieved full independence, to continue as the administering authority for the Trust Territory of British Togoland since this territory has been administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast. While it may be legally possible for the United Kingdom to continue to administer British Togoland either as an entity distinct from the Gold Coast or as an integral part of some other territory under British administration, the Government are satisfied that neither arrangement would be politically practicable or desirable in the interests of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. Two alternatives are therefore possible, either to amend or replace the present Trusteeship Agreement, or to terminate the Agreement without replacement on the grounds that the objectives of the International Trusteeship System have been substantially achieved in the Territory.

The Government favour the second course and are of the opinion that the aims of the Trusteeship Agreement would be fulfilled in that the inhabitants of British Togoland would enjoy full self-government as an integral part of an independent Gold Coast. The memorandum notes that, while the General Assembly will wish to formulate their own opinion, they will wish to base it on both the views of the Administering Authority and on the freely expressed wishes of the people, and it points out that the Visiting Mission in 1955 will have the opportunity of "reviewing the general state of opinion in the Territory. If after this Mission has reported the United Nations wishes to make further inquiry, the United Kingdom would be prepared to agree to a plebiscite."

In 1952 the Trusteeship Council sent a visiting mission to West Africa, which reported that there was no single form of unification between British and French Togoland acceptable to the majority of the population. In a document submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations (July, 1953) by the Working Committee of the All Ewe Conference which was meeting in Accra, it was stated that "It is necessary to consider how far the present wishes of the people coincide with the plans of the Government and the C.P.P. The people of the Northern Section are already virtually unanimous in favour of integration into the Gold Coast and doubts expressed by Visiting Missions are not supported by any body of public opinion opposing the integration of this section into the Northern Territories. The C.P.P. has already achieved a considerable measure of success in the non-Ewe area of the Southern Section, but this gain has yet to be consolidated . . . This measure of success has, however, by no means been achieved in the remaining two districts in this section which are principally inhabited by Ewes. In these districts opposition to the C.P.P. proposals is being experienced from two groups. First there are the Ewe-Unificationists whose main strength lies outside the territory, but who command a considerable measure of support in the Ho district. This group is led by Sylvanus Olympio and receives the support of the leading Keta families . . . This group seeks unification of the Togolands and then possibly some sort of association with the Gold Coast thereafter. Secondly there is the Togoland Congress which still enjoys powerful support in the Kpandu District . . . They are resentful of the lack of development (there is no tarred road in Togoland) and suspicious that Togoland does not receive its fair share from the Government, the Cocoa Marketing Board and other statutory boards."

*The Manchester Guardian* (June 22, 1954), commenting editorially on the British Government's recommendation that Togoland should become an integral part of the Gold Coast said: "This seems in many ways the best way out. But there is a snag in the way. Many of the Ewe people, the largest tribe in Southern Togoland, are against being incorporated in the Gold Coast unless they first achieve independent status (and so come in as equals) in unity with their fellow-Ewes in French Togoland. The Togoland Congress, a party holding this view, won two seats in the recent Gold Coast elections. There are two difficulties about its policy. It depends on French agreement to yield up at least a part of the territory under French mandate, and the French may not agree; and it ignores that part of British Togoland not inhabited by Ewes, who form little more than a third of the whole population. There is no reason to think that such tribes as the Dagombe and the Kusasi, whose lands lie partly in the Gold Coast, have any wish to be joined with French Togoland. If the mandate is to end, why should British Togoland be treated as an indivisible unit? Its frontiers are quite artificial and arbitrary. The chance should surely be taken to regroup tribes as far as possible under the same flag."

## Nigeria

### VIEWS ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

DR. Nnamde Azikiwe, Prime Minister of the Eastern Region of Nigeria and leader of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, during his visit to America said: "What I want most is to attract some of the United States trained architects, doctors, engineers and planners to Nigeria. I also need co-operation in training our own people for the same work. We have some excellent Government schemes—water conservation, electricity grid plans, road building—on the drawing board. All are ready to go into action. But we're held up because of a shortage of trained staff to implement them . . . When the Queen signs the necessary documents in August this year and we can then deal with our own internal problems, we'll need all the skilled people we can find." (*West Africa* June 12, 1954.)

Referring to Dr. Azikiwe's tour, Mr. Awolowo, leader of the Action Group, and Prime Minister of Western Nigeria, said: "It is more economical for a country, like an individual, to engage in those enterprises in which it has the greatest relative advantage or the least relative disadvantage." He explained that in his view an improvement in agricultural productivity was more urgent than plans for industrialisation. *West Africa*, in editorial comment, said, "this was, of course the view also of Professor Arthur Lewis about the Gold Coast;<sup>1</sup> and Western Nigeria, as a whole, is better endowed with soil and water than the Gold Coast. Indeed, though the statistics are inadequate for a precise judgment, Western Nigeria seems, even without any minerals, one of the most favoured areas in Africa. Its agriculture offers many opportunities for improvement and diversification, and Mr. Awolowo is obviously right to stress that, for example, an increase in cocoa acreage and an improvement in cocoa yields could produce bigger and more certain prizes than industrial projects

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 1.

which might actually prove a burden." (June 19, 1954.)

The Nigerian Information Service, Lagos, reports that the Central Minister of Commerce and Industries said that it would be difficult to build a great prosperous nation out of Nigeria without commensurate commercial and industrial development. But much as he would like to see various industries springing up all over the country, it should not be imagined that every industry could be economically run in Nigeria. It might be cheaper and more advantageous to import certain goods than manufacture them locally. The Minister said it was his duty to watch, guide, develop and improve the import and export trade of Nigeria, and to encourage the initiation and growth of suitable industries throughout the country, because its ever-increasing and virile population would find interesting and ennobling occupation in commerce and industries. He urged food producers not to slacken their efforts but to continue to produce more food, and regard themselves as a group playing an important part in the industrialisation of the country.

## EAST AFRICA

### Kenya

#### ANALYSIS OF MAU MAU

DR. J. C. CAROTHERS, M.B., D.P.M., previously a Medical Officer of the Kenya Government, and later in psychiatric charge of Mathari Mental Prison and H.M. Prison, Nairobi until 1950, has completed his report on *The Psychology of Mau Mau for the Government of Kenya*.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Carothers summarises the general mental characteristics of untouched rural Africans, pointing out that "no fundamental differences between different groups of Africans, or even between Africans and Europeans, have yet been demonstrated" but that "the manifest differences that do exist as between Europeans and Africans . . . can be well explained on the basis of experience, of environmental factors" the chief of which are climatic, infective, nutritional and cultural: the last being overwhelmingly important. "Life in Africa was highly insecure, but the individual did achieve some inner sense of personal security by adherence, and only by adherence, to the traditional rules . . . There were fears, of course, and misfortunes were almost the order of the day, but even these were seldom without precedent and for each of these there were prescribed behaviour patterns which satisfied the urge to action. So that the African achieved a measure of stability and, within his group and while at home, was courteous, socially self-confident and, in effect, a social being. But this stability was maintained solely by the continuing support afforded by his culture and by the prompt suppression of initiative.

"Related to the lack of conscious personal integration, there is, in Ritchie's words, an inability to 'look critically at himself and the world and see that neither the goodness nor the badness is absolute, and accept himself and the world for the mixture of potential good and potential bad that everyone and everything really is'. He tends, in fact, to oscillate between the conviction that events are wholly good and the conviction that

they are wholly evil." As when the outer world impinges upon consciousness, it is usually in the form of misfortune, that world is usually regarded as essentially malevolent. Outside the tribal group "the outsider has no rights and, if that outsider has inspired fear and hate, the vilest of behaviour is appropriate." It is implicit in this type of psychology that anxiety cannot be sustained for long . . . action must follow.

"If religion is definable as a feeling of awe related to some mysterious Power" representing right behaviour patterns within the group "then religion permeates life in some degree in most, if not all, African societies . . ."

Dr. Carothers describes the shock in Africa caused by the impact of the West: "It has become only too clear that when European influence impinges on the African, his whole cultural machinery is apt to collapse quite quickly," though the vulnerability of different types of African society varies. As far as the Kikuyu in transition are concerned, it seems that several elements have interacted to produce the situation that gave rise to Mau Mau. None of these elements, taken singly, is absent in the case of other agricultural tribes of Kenya, but in Kikuyu-land they have been accentuated and have worked in the manner of a vicious circle, to produce an ever-increasing tension within the tribe itself. Firstly, there seems initially to have been a great degree of individualism and of an urge to personal power. Secondly, these people had a relatively longer and closer contact with alien cultures in their various aspects (missionary, commercial and European farming) than had other tribes. Thirdly, the Kikuyu have shown a considerable avidity to acquire understanding of European ways to power and in varying degrees have acquired European learning.

But no matter what success (educational or monetary) they have achieved, they have still found that many doors remained as closed as ever to them. Fourthly, they have felt much bitterness on this score but . . . they have acquired in the degree of their new education much prestige in the eyes of their own people, and great power for good or evil in that field. Fifthly, educational diversity is striking . . . but is most strikingly exemplified in a gross disparity in the general levels of advancement of men and women . . . Sixthly . . . this accentuates and maintains the problem of transition and gives rise to an anxious conflictual situation within the tribe itself.

There are only three possible ways of dealing with this conflict—"(*a*) to try to put the clock back; (*b*) to try to make something satisfactory to himself out of the alien culture; and (*c*) to produce some new solution of his own. He has in fact tried each in turn." The first by a re-insistence on the full rigours of initiation, and in trying to look back to a Golden Age, the second by a movement within the framework of orthodox Christianity of a Christian Revival by the people, and the third by Mau Mau.

The vicious circle is completed by the prestige attaching to some knowledge of European ways which could be used for good, but has worked on the whole for evil. Referring to other tribes, Dr. Carothers surmises that in many other areas there is inflammable material and describes the prestige ladder, stretching from Nairobi outwards, so that people at the top end, Nairobi, regard themselves as superior to those lower down and further north.

Coming to the development of Mau Mau activity, Dr. Carothers divides this into two stages—one in which it was quite sophisticated by any standard, and a later one relatively

<sup>1</sup>*The Psychology of Mau Mau*. Government Printer, Nairobi, 50 cents.



incomprehensible to modern Europeans. He concentrates his inquiry on the latter and discusses at length the close parallel between Mau Mau oaths and rituals and those that occurred in the witchcraft that flourished in Europe especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The one thing, he says, that people who took part in such rituals in Europe had in common "was a desire to achieve some personal aim which they could not achieve within the 'righteous' social framework of their time. Furthermore, it is implicit in such behaviour patterns that, by and large, these people's Christian faith was still substantially unshaken, for otherwise their revolt was meaningless for them."

Summarising the circumstances which gave rise to Mau Mau, Dr. Carothers said: "It arose from the development of an anxious conflictual situation in people who, from contact with the alien culture, had lost the supportive and constraining influences of their own culture, yet had not lost their 'magic' modes of thinking. It arose from the exploitation of this situation by relatively sophisticated egotists." He analyses the object and effect of the oaths and rituals and answers the question: How has it come about that the Kikuyu, of all people, should have put up such a sustained and organised resistance? "It has never yet been proved that any human groups are less physically courageous than are any others. But some, by reason of their cultural background, are more easily led than others; and almost all will fight courageously if they feel a real incentive. The Kikuyu are not easily led except by leaders of their own; their point of view is far too independent to follow alien leaders without questioning. And now, in Mau Mau, they have developed strong incentives of their own for the first time."

"Are there any loyal Kikuyu?"—Dr. Carothers says the Kikuyu do not see the British Government in the light of "loyalty for a regime . . . seen as representing something in oneself." They see it as something alien—"yet British Government contains a principle—the principle by which each person is entitled to have an equal say with every other person in his own governance—which has been admired, and emulated with a varying success, by many peoples. It is quite capable of admiration by African peoples, too, provided they feel this principle is applied to them, or will be so applied. The British juvenile knows that within his life-time it will apply to him and, on those terms, is satisfied to wait. But it has to be admitted that few Kikuyu feel it will unless, literally or metaphorically, they fight for it. Rightly or wrongly, a Kikuyu feels that his political status will not depend in Kenya solely on his merits as a man. In these circumstances, loyalty in the full sense of the word, is hardly to be looked for at the moment. In spite of this and perhaps surprisingly, there have been many who have proved their loyalty; and one has no reason to doubt that, in certain circumstances, loyalty should be ultimately possible for most Kikuyu people."

Can Kikuyu people ever be trusted again? "Clearly such experiences do not vanish without trace. These people will never be quite the same as they were before. But they might be better. The Kikuyu are eminently teachable and this bitter experience will surely cause much heart-searching in many who have never thought much before. The outcome will entirely depend on what measures can be taken, by them and us, to fill the void."

Dr. Carothers prefaces a chapter of recommendations with

the remark: "Men's minds, unlike their bodies, do not exist as independent entities which can be studied in utter objectivity, and assessments of other people must continually be based on re-assessments of oneself."

"If anything is clear in Kenya, it is that, for the Kikuyu at any rate, the ancient cultural modes have had their day, and it is time to build on new foundations . . . But there is a war on" and "it is to be anticipated that some will fight on to the bitter end since, quite apart from psychological factors conditioned by the Mau Mau's Fourth Oath . . . there must be many men who know their crimes are unforgivable in law." But more important is the attitude of the average person. Dr. Carothers sees no reason to doubt that "by and large, the people would have liked Mau Mau to win." There is little general loyalty to Government, but also "the people are far too shrewd and independent to be swept off their feet by enthusiasm for Mau Mau." Most of them probably realise by now that the Mau Mau military campaign will fail, "and there is little doubt that the bulk of the population only want assurance of security, an opportunity to get on with their affairs by day and to sleep in peace by night. But this knowledge cannot mitigate their fears when they know that Mau Mau bands are near their isolated and defenceless homes, and their attitude from day to day must vary according to the fluctuating local fortunes of Mau Mau."

A system of "villagisation" is recommended by Dr. Carothers to help in providing a sense of security, and to answer other psychological problems, such as isolation, suspicion and social insecurity. "It is not to be expected that Kikuyu people would take kindly at first to such a departure from their traditional rather isolated ways of living. But that is just why it could be valuable for them. Moreover, they need some clear direction. Though this again they are hardly likely to admit, it is most certain that, like most people everywhere, they badly want to be told just what to do."

"Above all", Dr. Carothers stresses, "if ever Africans are to develop stably and ultimately creatively, within the framework of the civilisation that we know and as undoubtedly is their wish, they must be given opportunity to live as families in stable homes." It is important therefore that in the towns incentives should be created for Africans to feel they want to stay there permanently, with their families, instead of having one foot at home in the reserves. And to help to develop the home, Community Development and Medical Health Centre activities should be considerably extended.

With regard to education, "African children need especially to be taught to think things out for themselves on the basis of some general principles . . . They need to be taught to see themselves as part of a vast human organisation with tentacles that stretch a long way off in four dimensions. They have been taught at home the stories of their little world and seen that little world too big and with themselves standing at its centre . . . In the teaching of geography and history in Africa, it would seem to be especially important to stress that the essential thing about all folk to-day is that they are only local examples of a highly homogeneous humanity, which has now endured for countless generations and in which each local group has much to learn from all the others, and also much to give."

Dr. Carothers refers to the integrating role that religion has played in all the African peoples' social behaviour patterns

within their tribal groups, "yet the one thing we have almost utterly destroyed, though mainly unintentionally, has been this supportive and constraining element in their culture. For some of them, Christianity or Islam has taken its place; but for most, nothing valuable has done so." With regard to Christianity, he says it "contains the principle that all men are equal under God, with equal rights. African people in transition attach more importance to example than to precept, but here in Kenya they do not think they see the practice of this principle by people who are white . . . Many Africans (under the influence of missionaries who practise Christianity themselves) have had 'the vision of greatness' and, in some measure, have acquired Christianity. But they have then emerged into a wider world and have found there that white, and supposedly Christian people have after all an exclusively group religion like the one they used to have themselves . . . The missionaries have no need to blame themselves for this . . . But one can say this: that if the general white population of this colony cannot practise Christian principles in their dealings with their fellow men, both white and black, the missionaries might just as well pack up their bags and go.

"So one has to turn the spot-light on ourselves—the general White populace of Kenya. We see ourselves as a godless generation and pride ourselves on our escape from superstition. We see ourselves as living in a scientific age, with strength that derives entirely from ourselves as individuals and from our reason. If this were true and we were honest, we should not attempt to Christianise the African, but would concentrate on logic in his education . . ." But, "whether we like it or not, the scientific Europe that we rightly pride ourselves on being members of, arose on (Christian) foundations . . . Let us face the fact, therefore, that we have got something valuable to give, though we have not always realised what that something was. Let us also face the fact that this gift cannot be given by the missionaries unless we others aid them by living Christian lives."

On the subject of immigration, Dr. Carothers points out that "if we Europeans can retain any moral lead in Kenya, much will depend on us as individuals. There has been much 'screening' of Africans of late, but what about the immigrants? Surely some screening is required also here and I would advise that all those who aim to live for long in Kenya should be interviewed by a Selection Board who would assess their qualifications for living in a land where their every act will have much wider repercussions than is the case in the land they aim to leave."

He makes it clear that no reflection is intended on the British Government by remarks in his report. Its aims have been the highest. "Democratic principles have nobility but, as such, are supremely difficult of application . . . This difficulty is apt to lead to an apparent inconsistency between theory and practice which, in its turn, must often lead to a sense of guilt in those who have authority and a sense of injustice in the others." He points out that this unhappy inter-personal relationship does not develop in countries where government is frankly autocratic but is apt to occur in those multi-racial countries where one race is English-speaking. "If so, it is a vice which arises from a virtue and should be clearly seen for what it is, so that one can go forward with democracy in Kenya. For the practice of democracy has never been a static thing."

Finally Dr. Carothers says, "Africans throughout the Colony need, for their own peace of mind, clear statements of policy in its dynamic aspects, of policy in regard to the development of democracy for them in Kenya."

#### MAU MAU AS A RELIGION

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, the distinguished archaeologist and authority on the history of the Kikuyu, in two articles in the *Manchester Guardian* (June 24, 25, 1954) described the way in which the leaders of the Mau Mau movement had turned it into a sort of religion: without doing so "there would have been little hope of raising sufficient support among the great masses of the Kikuyu people, and none at all of persuading thousands of them to take part in deeds of violence and brutality. He gave instances of how the outward patterns of Christianity were adopted as the foundations of the Mau Mau religion—parodies of a creed, of hymns, of a moral code, and of the oath ceremonies which are preceded by most solemn prayers to God.

"Once this new Mau Mau religion had got fully under way, it was not difficult to link it to, and use it in conjunction with, the Mau Mau oath ceremonies. At the same time it was made clear that the new oath ceremony was to become a substitute for the ancient 'initiation ceremony into adult status,' the most solemn moment in the life of any Kikuyu in the olden days.

"Mau Mau is indeed a religion, and as such ten times more dangerous than if it were merely a political movement. But you cannot punish people for their beliefs, but only if their beliefs lead them into acts which are criminal. To-day, terrorist gangs, about to go into action, to burn and pillage, and massacre Christian loyalists, usually stand solemnly and recite their creed, praying to God to bless them and what they are about to do . . . Every evil thing that is done by Mau Mau is done in the name of God and His chosen disciples the Mau Mau leaders."

Dr. Leakey pointed out that the movement is losing ground with the masses and the religious side is ceasing to have the attraction which it had. "Mau Mau disciples are greatly disillusioned, and once more they are beginning to look to Christianity to see if it can fulfil their need of a religion that really helps them in their daily life. This presents a terrific challenge to the leaders of the Churches, both to the Established Church and to Nonconformist bodies." He asked why Christianity, as taught by the various missionary societies, had "failed to get a real hold on the vastly many more" than the few who had become true believers and many of whom have died for their faith in the last two years, and concluded that this was because the missionaries had tried to lift the people in one big step into twentieth-century Western European Christianity, "which embodies much that goes far beyond the teachings of Christ," with its Canon Law, "its rather stereotyped printed forms of formal worship", and moreover, the rules of the Church according to which sect it was.

"The challenge then, is to the leaders of the Churches. Are they prepared to do as Pope Gregory did, when sending St. Augustine and his monks to the British Isles? Dare they tell their missionaries to put no value on the mere doctrines and teachings of the early fathers, the customs that have grown up as part of British Christianity, but to abide only by the simple teachings of Christ? If they do, then I feel sure that the teachings of Christ will draw back tens of thousands who have

gone over to Mau Mau as a religion. If they do not some other false religion will soon take the place of Mau Mau in the hearts and minds of the Kikuyu."

### APPEALS FOR SERVICE

The *Manchester Guardian* (June 26, 1954) in an editorial described the urgent needs in money and material resources for the rehabilitation of the thousands of Kikuyu now detained "either without charge or on short sentences which will soon have to be served"—an estimated number of 50,000—many of whom are employed on constructive work. The editorial said "it must be recognised that it is a policy of concentration camps, which we have learned to distrust and detest, and which the British people will stomach only if satisfied that its object is primarily and genuinely to build new lives for those whose old lives have led them into a slough, and that it is not merely a cover for keeping awkward people locked up, or for getting public works done on the cheap. In this respect, there is reason to think that the Kenya Government has the right intention. Its policy appears to be based on the conviction that to work with others for the public good is itself a salutary thing for the troubled mind; that such work must be accompanied by provision both for education and for recreation; and that it must lead to a strengthening of the country's economy in a way from which the men detained will themselves benefit . . ."

Turning to the need of spiritual recovery, the editorial calls for more offers of personal service, as "both in the public service and in the Churches and their lay formations there is an urgent and unsatisfied demand for men and women to undertake work which may be of crucial importance in the history of Africa and of the Commonwealth."

The Bishop of Mombasa, the Rt. Rev. L. Beecher, in a letter to *The Times* (June 19, 1954) said: "The devotion of large sums to the creation of new social and economic conditions in Kenya is wholly right and urgently necessary, but the money of itself can solve no problems. It comes alive when men and women offer themselves in Christian devotion in order to make that country and its peoples truly great. Such, and such people only, will find themselves welcomed by the expectant section of the population, not least among the Kikuyu, on whose Christian loyalty and fearless courage so much has depended during the emergency and will depend in the future."

### POLICY IN KENYA

At a two-day conference in Nairobi of delegates representing a wide variety of European organisations, including churches and missions, the Women's League and commercial, agricultural and political bodies, statements on Government policy from several of the new Ministers were heard. The conference was organised by the European elected members who support the Lyttelton multi-racial Government plan. Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister without Portfolio, reviewed the emergency and estimated that 5,000 Mau Mau terrorists had been killed to date, and at least 1,200 Kikuyu murdered by Mau Mau. In the past few months nearly 25 per cent of Mau Mau effective strength had been destroyed by security forces. In the tribal reserves administrative officers were now empowered to apply sanctions where these were thought fit—these would affect the sale for cash of crops, payment of money by co-operative societies, and the movement of Kikuyu—with the object of preventing cash from reaching the Mau Mau.

The policy of creating villages was proceeding, and a combined operation of rehabilitation was planned by Government in co-operation with the Christian Council of Kenya. Closer administration was being brought about in the troubled areas. He also said it would be very wrong for the conference to support a motion which appeared to condone brutality. It would be tragic if Europeans allowed the emergency to destroy their fundamental standards, one of which was that prisoners should not be ill-treated or beaten. The resolution was defeated. (*The Times*, June 8 and 9, 1954.)

The *Kenya Weekly News* (June 25, 1954) referred to the recent statement by thirteen of the European Elected Members who announced that they were agreed (1) on the continued reservation of the White Highlands for European settlement, (2) on communal rolls as opposed to a common roll for the return of Members to the Legislature and (3) on the maintenance of separate schools for European children.

Some days later the Asian Elected Members issued a statement in which they said: "It is realised that the aim of building a multi-racial society and nation in Kenya cannot be achieved overnight, and it must, of necessity, be an evolutionary process. And therefore a standstill arrangement for a few years for such important matters, however unacceptable to Asian and African Members, is understandable, provided that such period of standstill is genuinely utilised for preparing the ground for even more important changes necessary to build up honestly a multi-racial society. We wish to put it on record that the building of a multi-racial society will demand genuine and continuous readjustments on behalf of those who enjoy special privileges of any sort, and also those who enjoy social, economic and political advantages.

"The declaration by the European Elected Members runs counter to this requirement and it unavoidably raises suspicions in the minds of non-Europeans about the genuineness of the intentions of the unofficial European community to build a multi-racial society and one nation in Kenya."

In a comment, the *Kenya Weekly News* said it is "certain that an overwhelming majority of the European community would not now accept a change in the status of the White Highlands, a common voters' roll, or common schools for the children of all races. It is also certain that whereas a majority of the European Members accepted the Lyttelton plan for a form of multi-racial government in Kenya, they would not accept that they were thereby committed to the economic, political and social changes apparently envisaged by the Asian Members. If they were to do so, at this stage, it would be the death knell of European settlement and of Western civilisation in Kenya."

The editorial added that Indian Press and politicians rarely consider the following facts: the importance of the White Highlands being preserved for European settlement for the country's economy; the "reasonable claim" of the settlers "to continue to live amongst their own folk under the conditions which persuaded them to build their homes in Kenya"; the Europeans' opposition to a common roll because of the realisation "that the demand is not for a common roll based on the criteria of 'high ability and noble character', but for a common roll based on criteria which would forever submerge European influence in public affairs and with it, the way of Western Civilisation." On the issue of common schools, "it must be remembered that the young people of other races



who attend the great schools and universities of Great Britain are accepted as individuals in accord with the extent to which they conform with established traditions and ways of conduct . . . Surely the proper start to common education in Kenya is at the post-secondary or university level."

It concluded: "The most distressing feature of the Asian Members' statement is that it tends to set the majority of Europeans against the idea and the ideal of a multi-racial State and society. If it be maintained that the racial government *ipso facto* means an early acceptance of common schools and hospitals, a common roll, and of many other common things, it is certain that the public opinion of the European community will swiftly harden against the continuance of the present experiment in multi-racial government."

*The Economist* (June 5, 1954) commented: "To call Kenya's 'cabinet' multi-racial when only three out of its eleven members are in fact non-Europeans, is perhaps only literally true. African opinion is convinced that the influence of Mr. Ohanga (the African Minister) will be almost nil and there is still bitter disappointment over Mr. Lyttelton's refusal to fight for two African ministers, and some resentment that any African should show himself ready to take the job, the salary and the house (in the European area) simply to be a minority of one. But Mr. Ohanga may be tougher than they think; while the importance of Mr. Patel's and Mr. Nathoo's (the two Asian Ministers) views can hardly be questioned."

#### GENERAL ERSKINE PROTESTS

General Sir George Erskine, the Commander-in-Chief, East Africa, walked out of a dinner in Nairobi which was given by the South African Society of East Africa for Dr. A. Geyer, former South African High Commissioner in London. The reason for his action was a speech by Sir Alfred Vincent, former leader of the Elected Members in Kenya, who said: "The plain answer to the question of what is wrong with East Africa is that the present deplorable state of affairs has arisen from one cause and one cause only, and that is the weak and unrealistic methods of British Colonial policy in fact that the Colonial affairs are becoming more and more at the mercy of British party politics and queer societies in London." General Erskine explained afterwards that he was not going to listen to the British Government being abused.

#### ARREST OF EDITOR

Mr. R. Gama Pinto, editor of the *Nairobi Daily Chronicle*, was arrested under security regulations. The Internal Security Minister for Kenya said it had no connection with Mr. Pinto's newspaper activities but was made on "general security grounds". Mr. Pinto, a Goan, is a member of the former Kenya League, a political organisation outlawed by the Government last year. Security officials said that he also belonged to an Asian group with strong connections with Kikuyu and Luo leaders who have been detained since the emergency began. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 22, 1954.)

## Uganda

#### STATE OF EMERGENCY

THE GOVERNOR OF UGANDA, Sir Andrew Cohen, in reimposing a state of emergency in the province of Buganda, broadcast a

message to the people in the course of which he said: "I am convinced that this action must be taken at once so that the Government can carry out its first duty of maintaining law and order, and so that you, the law-abiding public of this country, can be protected from the activities of a small number of irresponsible people." He referred to the boycott on shopping called for by the Uganda National Congress as a protest against the deportation ordinance, and said there had been many reports of intimidation in support of the boycott; people had been warned that their houses would be burnt down; there had been whispering campaigns; and prominent people had had threats made against their lives and property. The Governor said he had ordered the closing down for the time being of two newspapers, the *Uganda Post* and the *Uganda Express*, "which for many months now have been stirring up trouble . . . Freedom of the Press . . . brings corresponding responsibilities. Liberty must not be allowed to degenerate into licence."

Commenting on the Emergency, the *Spectator* (June 4, 1954) said "The delegates from the Great Lukiko of Buganda spoke truly when they warned Mr. Lyttelton in December that his refusal to allow the return of Kabaku Mutesa II would bring about instability in the province . . . In his statement, the Governor said that this action had to be taken if law and order were to be preserved and the law-abiding public protected against a small minority. But it does not seem to be quite as simple as that. The Baganda, in the first place, have never accepted the deposition of Kabaka Mutesa. And now the Lukiko's delegate in London, Mr. Mulira, tells a story of intrigue and alleges that the Resident has been making unconstitutional attempts to get support for Prince Mawanda—a cousin of Mutesa—as the new Kabaka. The Baganda believe that the Government has no constitutional power to depose the existing Kabaka or to create a new one, and these manoeuvres—if they are a fact—are scarcely likely to succeed. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the British public does not know all that should be known about the situation in Buganda. The solution will be found neither in boycotts imposed by the Uganda National Congress nor in the Colonial Office's rigid adherence to its earlier attitude. But it may be found in a sympathetic examination of the Lukiko's suggestion that Mutesa should be re-installed as a constitutional monarch, ruling through Ministers."

A number of chiefs were dismissed by the Resident, Mr. J. P. Birch, who said that the dismissals were the result of recent inquiries made by the Buganda Government into the attitude of its chiefs, their effectiveness in dealing with the present situation and their loyalty (*The Times*, June 3, 1954).

A number of alleged intimidators were arrested in various parts of Buganda and 101 Africans detained for alleged non-payment of taxes.

*The Times* (June 29, 1954) reported that the Uganda Government was "confident that the extensive boycott by the Uganda National Congress, in protest against the deportation ordinance under which the Kabaka was exiled, is losing its appeal."

#### PROFESSOR HANCOCK'S MISSION

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, the Lukiko delegate, returned to Buganda and reported to the Lukiko on his visit to London and talks with Professor Sir Keith Hancock. *The Times* (June 7,

1954) reported: "Towards the end he knelt in his place, in accordance with the Baganda custom, to give the Kabaka's message, which commended Professor Hancock's mission and asked the Lukiko to participate in it, as its decisions would be referred to the Lukiko before they were put into force. This is the third time since his deportation that a constructive message from the Kabaka has contributed to the smooth passage of affairs, and it made an impression."

Sir Keith Hancock's first duty on arrival in Buganda was to attend the Great Lukiko. The Katikiro (Chief Minister) in welcoming him said: "It should be remembered that his mission has come as a direct result of the present crisis which resulted in the exile of our Kabaka, whose absence is deeply felt by all Baganda." Sir Keith Hancock had come because the Baganda had confidence in him, and they hoped that the discussions would be a success. Referring to the history of the Baganda, the Katikiro said that there was no time in their history when they had been without kings: when the Europeans first arrived they found Buganda a sovereign State. Pointing to the throne he added: "Although the throne is empty, according to our custom we feel the presence of the Kabaka here now." The Lukiko then knelt to pay homage.

Sir Keith Hancock thanked the Katikiro for his welcome, and said: "I have been called an independent expert. I do not like the word 'expert'. It implies that I know all the answers. But I do very much like the word 'independent' for it means I am not in anybody's pocket. I have come here by my own choice as a free man to do certain work which I myself have defined. If the Government should attempt to take away my freedom I would not permit it. If the Lukiko committee should attempt to take away my freedom I would not permit it . . . I must use my own judgment, otherwise I could be of no use to you." (*The Times*, June 24, 1954.)

Dr. Roland Oliver, Lecturer in African History at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, in a special article the *The Times* (June 18, 1954) pointed out the necessity "to distinguish very carefully between the constitutional issues which (Professor Hancock's) mission is expected to solve", and the sequence of events culminating in the deportation of the Kabaka. It was the reforms of the Lukiko (Buganda Parliament) of March, 1953, which meant the breakdown of an old system, and led to the situation making the Kabaka's position as the sole constitutional link between the Lukiko and the Governor an extremely embarrassing one. Had these results been accurately foreseen agreement on these issues could probably have been reached without difficulty. "As things are, however, negotiations have to be carried out against the background of a crisis of confidence, which has arisen from the reaction by the Baganda, of quite unforeseen strength and solidarity, to the deportation of their Kabaka."

Dr. Oliver described features of the reaction—the death from shock of the Kabaka's sister, the number of Baganda who took to their beds when they heard the news, the breaking off of social intercourse between Africans and their most trusted European friends in Buganda—and said to some extent these instantaneous reactions "can be attributed to the peculiar nature of the Kabaka's office, which is so delicately inter-woven with the whole clan system," and to some extent to the belief long cherished by the Baganda that they enjoy a different relationship with the British from other tribes in that the

Kabaka's grandfather "invited" the British to protect his country, and they now witness the deportation of the "host's" grandchild by the children of the "guests".

It was therefore important "to stress Sir Keith Hancock's function as a mediator rather than as a constitutional expert", for the Lukiko delegates "will have constantly to keep an eye on the temper of their constituency" and the Protectorate Government "will have to be constantly on the watch lest the future development of other peoples in the territory should be compromised in the process."

Dr. Oliver concluded: "What happens in Uganda is of course crucial for the whole of eastern and even central Africa. Not the Baganda alone, but all the peoples in the Protectorate collectively, can be either our most valuable friends or our most dangerous enemies. Conditions there will set the pace either of co-operation or resistance."

In a letter to the *Spectator* (June 11, 1954) Canon H. M. Grace, former missionary in Uganda wrote: "There can hardly have been a more short-sighted and provocative action in our more recent colonial history than the deportation of the Kabaka of Buganda without trial . . . It has roused the most powerful and advanced people in East and Central Africa to distrust and even hatred of our people, when before there had been affection and trust . . ." He pointed out that the British are dealing "with an able people set in the heart of the Protectorate and who, for the first thirty years of our governing there, were used by our Government to train, and in some cases subdue, the rest of the Protectorate. They may not always be popular with some officials and some of the other tribes, but they are the nerve centre of the Protectorate and will remain so."

Bishop H. Gresford Jones, writing from Liverpool, said: "Here is a gentle and attractive people, unique among African tribes for their culture and their customs. Their dignity and restraint during the present unrest have won general respect. Yet now, as recent letters from them disclose, they feel humiliated and forsaken by those whom they have accepted as their best friends . . . Wisdom and justice both seem to suggest that the right thing to do in the present emergency is to give the Kabaka, under probation, another chance—this time no longer as absolute, but as a strictly constitutional Chief."

## General

### VISIT OF MUSLIMS TO WEST AFRICA

A PARTY of distinguished East African Muslims are on a goodwill mission to West Africa. They are the Hon. Abdul Karimjee, leader of the Mission and the Mayor of Dar-es-Salaam, the Hon. V. M. Nazerali of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Tanganyika, and Prince Badru Mbogo and Mr. Jassen Kassim Lakha of Buganda. The Mission has been sponsored by the East African Muslim Welfare Society whose Patron is the Aga Khan. Mr. Karimjee, President of the Society's Council at Dar-es-Salaam, is a well-known philanthropist and a prominent business man, controlling an important interest in the sisal industry. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, June 30, 1954.)



# THE SUDAN

MISS MARGERY PERHAM, Fellow of Imperial Government, Nuffield College, writing in *The Times* (June 16, 1954) on the dangers facing the new regime in the Sudan said: "The first danger is that these excellent institutions (an elective two-chamber legislature, a Cabinet system, Westminster parliamentary procedure, and an independent judiciary and Civil Service) which the Sudanese have accepted will not survive the shocks of transfer. The new constitution was not imposed upon the Sudanese: it was desired by them and its forms were hammered out over several years in Sudanese committees and assemblies. But it so happens that the Umma Party, which provided the Ministers—mostly experienced Civil servants—who for some five years have worked closely with their British colleagues, lost the recent election and power passed to the hands of men most of whom are without political or administrative experience and whose principal qualification is their former hostility towards 'the colonisers' . . .

"The second threat is to the independence of the country. It comes from Egypt. Even while the supreme power there was being tossed from hand to hand like a Rugby football, Egypt's policy towards the Sudan and Britain retained, as if by instinct, its energy and continuity . . .

"The shadow of a third and even graver danger hangs over the Sudan. If the National Unity Party at present in power leans upon Egypt, as Britain prepares to retire, it is because it is haunted by the memory of the Mahdia and the long tyranny of the western tribes over the commercial and riverain peoples who mostly adhere to the rival religious sect of the Khatmia. The unfortunate and almost accidental flare-up on March 1, when the Mahdist demonstrators and the police had a brief but bloody tussle, has fanned the ancient fear. The Umma, the Mahdist party, made an unexpectedly poor showing at the last elections, in which it failed to co-operate with other groups, and an election map would reveal clearly how local memories of the Mahdia affected the voting."

Miss Perham concluded: "Britain should use without delay all her remaining power and influence to prevent a situation developing which might evoke such a tragic repetition of past history. But the chief responsibility rests with the present Sudanese Government. It is urgent that it should create within the country that atmosphere of unity and reconciliation in which the old internal feuds may die away and the Umma Party and the great western tribes make their proper contribution to the new nation. In external affairs—though these are really indivisible from the internal—it should try at least to limit corrupting interventions and to strive for that true independence in the face of which the long unhappy rivalry of the Condominium Powers would become irrelevant."

## CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

### CONFEDERATE PARTY SPLIT

AT A NATIONAL council meeting of the Confederate Party in Salisbury recently nine leading members of the party resigned.

Subsequently five other leading members resigned. The dissident members issued a statement in which, after stating that they adhere to loyalty to the Queen and Federation, the attainment of dominion status and European political control and influence in the Federation, they said: "The vast majority of the Confederate Party also adhere to these principles, but it is not sufficient to hold these views, however sound, if other factors are present which nullify these views." Mr. J. R. Dendy Young, M.P. was re-elected leader of the party and Mr. E. B. Hovelmeier, of Kitwe, was elected deputy-president. A report says that much of the trouble in the party has been due to the rise of Afrikaners holding nationalistic views to positions of influence in the organisation. (*South Africa*, June 19, 1954.)

### STATEMENTS BY SIR GODFREY HUGGINS

Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of the Federation, has stated in an article in *Optima*, a quarterly review published by the Anglo-American Corporation, that under the constitution the African has been given a good share in the Federal Government machine for a people as backward as most of the Bantu, and, providing they did not form an opposition based on colour, their further advance was assured. "If on the other hand," he said "bad counsel prevails and they merely form a colour party in the House, the European will resist, with all his ability and resources, any further political advance." Sir Godfrey pointed out that the Federation had embarked on a political course quite unlike anything else in Africa but said: "We have, however, this in common with South Africa—we both have areas set aside for the exclusive use of Africans and we both believe that intermingling of the races is not in the best interest of either race. This view is also held by advanced Africans."

Addressing a gathering of school children in Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey said: "You will have great privileges as free men and women, and you cannot have these unless you realise you also have a duty. It is to be tolerant toward all the people who live in this part of the world. If you realise that and act on that principle, you will lead a happy life and your children will have a happy life. If you do not realise that and are selfish, and do not give something in return, then I am afraid you will have a very unhappy country . . . All will be wasted unless you are determined to see it will be a great free and happy country for all the inhabitants irrespective of colour." (*Central African Post* May 28, 1954.)

### THE FEDERAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Mr. C. S. White, in his presidential address to the inaugural conference of the Trade Union Congress of the Federation (a European body), said: "If we are to perform our duties properly, it will be realised that such matters as finance, education and health, which are in the Federal sphere, must be given our attention." The Trade Union Congress of Rhodesia was formally dissolved when fifty delegates, representing about fifteen unions or local committees in both Rhodesias, inaugurated the new Trade Union Congress of the Federation. Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Minister of Transport and Development, said African advancement in industry must never be allowed to take place at the expense of the European. "My view" he said, "is that the job should be paid the rate attached to it, and any man who does that job should be paid the established rate." As long as the approach towards African

advancement in industry was that it could only be at the expense of the white man, there was no hope of bringing about African advancement. It was time that the people who were so anxious to see the advance of the African faced hard reality. "It should be recognised that the Europeans have established a standard of living which has got to be maintained and that anyone who comes into the field of labour covered by European endeavour must be paid on those rates." (*Federation Newsletter*, June 9, 1954.)

#### FEDERAL PARLIAMENT—DEBATE ON INCOME TAX

One of the main tasks of the Federal Assembly during its first sitting was the discussion of the Income Tax Bill. This bill contained the machinery for the assessment and collection of taxes, but did not contain any specific taxation proposals. These will be contained in the Budget later in the year.

In spite of this the Government came under criticism in two ways. Though the Minister of Finance made no attempt to anticipate his budget proposals, he received a good deal of advice of a conflicting nature from European members of the House. The conflict lay between Southern Rhodesia and the two Northern Territories. In the former case, members sought to persuade him to reduce rates of taxation, whereas in the latter case, members sought some guarantees that their taxation would not be increased. The tone of the speeches left the impression that one of the arguments used in Southern Rhodesia to persuade the electorate to vote for Federation in the referendum was that it would mean a decrease in taxation and that members now felt that their supporters would be disappointed. Opinion from the Northern Territories seemed to be that the Federation was expected to improve the economic conditions of the area and that such an improvement was not best heralded by tax increases.

The other conflict was concerned with a more immediate problem, that of African income tax. Until Federation, only Africans in Southern Rhodesia were subject to income tax. The Income Tax Bill now seeks to make liable Africans in the other territories also. At the committee stage of the bill, Mr. D. L. Yamba (an African M.P. for Northern Rhodesia) proposed an amendment exempting "British protected persons" (that is, Africans) from the payment of income tax. He and other African members opposed the imposition of this tax on the grounds of "no taxation without representation." Mr. Yamba suggested the inclusion of "British protected persons" on the common voters roll and the abolition of the colour bar as pre-requisites for the introduction of African income tax in the Northern Territories. In this view he received European support from Mr. J. C. Greylin (M.P. for Livingstone) who said: "I feel that it is an ancient facet of British political life that there is no payment of tax without representation. Although Africans are represented moderately, I feel that representation is indistinguishably bound up with the franchise and I feel that it would not be unreasonable to say that there should be a clause in the Bill to say that—'Africans shall not be required to pay income tax unless and until their names appear on the voter's roll.'"

Dr. Haslam, M.P. (Chairman of the African Affairs Board) stated: "Africans are continually being told that African affairs are a territorial matter and that these therefore must not be brought up in this House. Now African after African has said to me, 'What does concern us more intimately than

tax?' And it will not be easy to convince Africans that native tax is not a native matter . . . Many a one has come to the Secretary for Native Affairs (in Northern Rhodesia) and said: 'If this matter which concerns us so intimately is now being dealt with in the Federal Parliament, what is to prevent the Federal Parliament from interfering with our land rights?' "

This point of view was expressed by other members who felt that consultation should have taken place with the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland before the measure was introduced and that these governments should have had an opportunity of explaining the position to the Africans. Mr. C. R. Kumbikano (an African M.P. for Nyasaland) thought the introduction of income tax measures on the two Northern territories would have worked well, and probably would not have produced the protests of the African members, if consultations had started on a territorial level.

Dr. Alexander Scott, M.P. (Lusaka), while supporting the introduction of African income tax, agreed with Mr. Kumbikano's point and said: "The whole matter here is that no trouble was taken to explain this bill to Africans. If that had been done, I think much of this seeming antagonism in the House between Africans and Europeans would never have occurred."

Such antagonism was probably not decreased by the Finance Minister's final speech on the second reading. In the course of that speech he said: "It seems to me a great pity that the Honourable native representatives on these questions have a completely one-track mind—I suppose one must expect this racial one-track mind which they exhibit, but I want to tell them that when they follow this course, then they discount their value in this House by 100 per cent."

European sympathy with the views of the African members was expressed by Mr. Dendy Young, M.P. (Sebakwe) who is the only Confederate Party M.P. He said: "I think the debate on this clause has served a useful purpose, and I think a great deal of good has come out of it. In the first place there are those who are complaining that the method of introducing the tax was wrong. I think the Hon. Members representing African interests are right in emphasising this aspect of the matter and in drawing the attention of the Government to the blunt and blundering way in which they set about this tax. I think they are absolutely right and it is their duty to indicate what the attitude of the African people is towards a matter such as this. The Hon. the Minister of Finance, in introducing this matter, was provocative and dragged his coat behind him when he said that here the Africans were always asking for equality and they had it now, as far as taxes were concerned."

## Southern Rhodesia

#### THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS OUTLINES THE GOVERNMENT'S NATIVE POLICY

*The Rhodesia Herald* (June 12, 1954) reported a speech by Mr. P. B. Fletcher, Minister of Native Affairs, at a meeting of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association. The Minister said that the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, at its next session, will consider proposals to make possible the establishment of multi-racial hotels; to amend the law so as to allow local authorities to give permission for inter-racial clubs; and to

facilitate the practice of Native barristers in the High Court. The Government was prepared to consider the establishment of Native purchase areas in the vicinity of industrial areas, and the bill concerning Native trade unions would be referred to a select committee at an early stage so that interested parties could give evidence on the important question of relationship between European and Native conciliation machinery.

Mr. Fletcher spoke of the views he had expressed in the debate at the Municipal Association Conference.<sup>1</sup> He emphasised that he had then spoken strongly against a specific proposal to amend the Land Apportionment Act to enable local authorities to alienate land to Natives, with freehold title, on which to erect their own dwellings. His reasons for this view were that he considered this proposal exposed the community as a whole to many dangers, and also the granting of freehold title to Natives would immediately open up the question of Native participation in city and municipal councils. It was not the policy of the Government to open the way for Natives to participate in the municipal council system. He did not know what the future might hold in this regard but he did know that a government would require a direct mandate at a general election for such a proposal.

The Minister said that since the Native was an essential part of the country's secondary industry, conditions under which he would be able to win his way up to the full privileges of citizenship within the framework of "our system" must be provided. He said: "The advanced Native is surrounded by infinite difficulties and problems and we must provide him with outlets and protections in keeping with the dignity of his rising status."

#### REACTIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Mr. H. D. Wightwick, Member for Umtali, was interviewed by a correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* and was reported (June 14, 1954) as saying that he was "a little surprised that the Minister of Native Affairs should have mentioned inter-racial clubs and hotels, these were matters of policy which had neither been agreed to nor fully discussed by the United Rhodesia Party Members of Parliament." Mr. Wightwick also said that he would not support any amendments to the Land Apportionment Act which seemed to constitute an unnecessary threat to European residential areas, or which did not square with the assurance given to the electorate in the political campaigns over the last eighteen months.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (June 14, 1954) commented editorially on the great significance of the Minister of Native Affairs' announcement that the Land Apportionment Act was to remain the basis of the Native policy in Southern Rhodesia, and continued: "It means that the country remains committed to residential segregation and the large degree of social segregation which that implies. For by this Act the whole country is divided or potentially divided into Native and European areas in which the interests of one race or the other are predominant . . . This arrangement has been carried out harmoniously until now, but the new influx into the European areas of Africans who must make their permanent home there, has caused the Government to re-examine the whole framework. Its decision—to preserve the framework but open certain avenues to the urbanised African—was announced by Mr.

Fletcher on Friday. The preservation of the framework means that *apartheid* in one aspect is to continue. But if we gauge the tone of Mr. Fletcher's speech correctly, it is to be *apartheid* with justice. It is to be social *apartheid* which will be quite compatible with economic and other forms of partnership. It is not to be *apartheid* at the cost of the legitimate aspirations of those of the African people who have to live in the European areas to live at all."

The *Sunday Mail* (June 20, 1954) in an editorial wrote: "If the Southern Rhodesia Government proceeds with its plan to amend the law to allow local authorities to permit inter-racial clubs, it will be asking for trouble. We are well aware of the academic arguments that can be brought to support a move of this kind. There is much to be said for wholesome contact between civilised people of different races. But it is necessary to look a little further than one's nose in matters of such extreme delicacy. The policy of Southern Rhodesia is one of residential and social segregation, and it is a policy that has arisen out of circumstance. Whether it will remain the Colony's policy in years to come is another matter. Race Relations are constantly changing and many of the things we take for granted to-day would have been unthinkable a generation ago, when, for instance, it was an offence for a Native to walk on a pavement . . . Some provision must be made for distinguished coloured people visiting or passing through the Federation. A rigid colour bar in such circumstances creates unnecessary hostility overseas apart from inconvenience and humiliation it can cause ordinary, decent coloured travellers.

"Native purchase areas near industrial centres are also unobjectionable so long as care is taken to see that these areas do not, in the course of expansion become suburbs of White cities. Neither the inter-racial hotels nor the purchase areas involve a departure from the basic principle of social separation. But inter-racial clubs most certainly do . . . There is no objection to cultured people of different races meeting together to discuss problems and exchange views, but if they are to meet socially are these social contacts to be proscribed? If a debate is innocuous can the same be said of an inter-racial dance?"

#### THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON

Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who is on a visit to Great Britain at the invitation of the British Government, has spoken in London of his Government's plans for the betterment of Africans in urban areas. The Government of Southern Rhodesia was going to introduce this year legislation that would make it possible for Africans to have freehold tenure of land in urban areas and this included areas which were at present occupied by Europeans. The Government also intended to improve the living conditions of Africans in urban areas by embarking on a housing programme that would cost £2 million a year for the next three years. (*The Times*, July 2, 1954.)

#### THE INTER-RACIAL ASSOCIATION<sup>2</sup>

Professor W. Rollo, Principal of the Rhodesia University College, opened the first annual general meeting of the Inter-racial Association in the Cathedral Hall in Salisbury. He said that it was his firm belief that the University and the Inter-racial Association will play a great rôle in providing an independent meeting place where races can get to know each other

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2.



and so overcome that fear which is based on ignorance and which can only lead in the long run to hatred and frustration. The chairman, Mr. H. H. C. Holderness, M.P. congratulated the Association on the production of their journal *Concord*, and referred to the work of the Association's Industrial Relations Committee which had done a great deal of enthusiastic work on the country's most difficult national problem, namely setting up industrial conciliation machinery. Many favourable replies had been received to the Association's memorandum which was sent to various people and he hoped the decision to hold a round table conference would be made. (*African Weekly*, May 26, 1954.)

#### STATE LOTTERIES

Africans are not permitted to take part in the State Lottery in Southern Rhodesia. "On the back of each 10s. lottery ticket is the printed regulation: 'No person shall sell or give a ticket to any native. No native shall be entitled to recover any prize in a State lottery.' Applause greeted a statement in Parliament by the Finance Minister, Mr. Cyril Hatty, that 'the Government is not prepared to allow Africans to take part in the State lotteries at present.' Africans, who are also barred from horse-race betting say: 'The Europeans do not want us to take part in State lotteries because they do not want Africans to get rich.'" (*The Daily Express*, London, June 1, 1954.)

#### THE RHODESIAN GUILD OF JOURNALISTS

The Chief Industrial Officer of Southern Rhodesia has informed the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists that, following further consideration, he is prepared to register the Guild and its constitution as a trade union under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1945. Recently the Guild protested against amending its constitution in such a way as to debar African journalists from membership.<sup>1</sup> (*Federation Newsletter*, June 9, 1954.)

#### THE RHODESIAN RAIL STRIKE

A state of emergency was declared as a result of the strike of European railway firemen on June 5, 1954. The strike later spread to Northern Rhodesia and affected other railway employees as well as the firemen. Mr. Charles Taylor, leader of the Salisbury railway firemen, was arrested under the Government emergency regulations, and declared a prohibited immigrant. Mr. Taylor was deported from Southern Rhodesia on June 10, after an application had been refused in the High Court for an order staying his deportation.

*The Times* (June 7, 1954) reported that the General Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union had issued a statement saying "the executive committee is now fully satisfied that the strike committee is 'not really interested in the pay demands of the firemen and is using the opportunity offered to implement their avowed policy of taking over the union to form a militant body, which appears to be intent on breaking down the existing well-tried legal machinery of industrial negotiation.'"

## Northern Rhodesia

#### THE NEW GOVERNOR

SIR ARTHUR BENSON, the new Governor of Northern Rhodesia, arrived in Lusaka on May 25. He said at his first Press Con-

<sup>1</sup>See *DIGEST*, Vol. 2, No. 2.

ference: "I want to see a common outlook between the peoples of the three territories of the Federation on where we are going and why." Differences were bound to arise at the birth of a great conception such as Federation, "but let us discuss them quietly and objectively between ourselves. There are people in London with a lot of money to invest in the Federation, but they are waiting to see whether we can work together first." (*Federation Newsletter*, June 9, 1954.)

#### BILL TO AMEND THE PENAL CODE<sup>1</sup>

*The Central African Post* (April 30, 1954) reporting on a debate in the Legislative Council on April 28 said that Mr. Unsworth, who admitted that the amendment had become necessary after the recent picketing of butcher's shops in certain parts of the Territory, stressed the amendment's effect was to prevent people "watching and besetting" premises with the intent to stop other people from doing things they had a legal right to do.

Mr. Paskale Sokota (senior African Member) said the issue had arisen through the picketing organised by Africans who were dissatisfied with conditions in some shops. This course had been taken when the Africans had seen that Government did not intend to get matters improved. If the present amendment had come about as a result of the picketing, then the African people would feel that Government wished discriminatory practices to continue. Mr. Sokota continued: "We have made proper representation several times, but without effect. If this goes through, we shall be setting the clock back on race relations."

"No thinking African supports lawlessness," said Mr. S. Chileshe, one of the African members. "In fact, when some of our peoples behave lawlessly, we would like to hide our heads." Mr. Chileshe said that the amendment could result in bringing pressure on quite innocent people, and it might drive a section of the community to desperation. "Desperation drives people into all sorts of things, and I would deplore that desperation should drive us to such measures as we see in Kenya."

Mr. Robinson Nabulyato (an African member), said the House should seek to remove the cause of the picketing and not to legislate against it. "We might bring about something we do not expect . . . I wish we could exchange skin pigments for just one hour. Then perhaps we would be just a little wiser in legislating for this country."

In editorial comment *The Central African Post* (April 30, 1954) wrote: "The picketers had, in fact, violated that most cherished of democratic rights—the liberty of the individual to go about his lawful business without being molested . . . The effect of the section was not to make picketing illegal, but only to make it illegal for picketers to interfere or molest people who were going about their lawful business . . . But according to the African members of the Legislative Council, the African man in the street does not see this as being the Government motive. He sees it as a move by the Government to bolster up a discriminatory trading system which, after many years of effort, the Africans had, by their own efforts, cracked and which was in the process of tottering. Mistaken as this attitude is, the reaction is a very human and easily understandable one."

In the House of Commons (June 16, 1954) the Rt. Hon. John Dugdale, M.P. (Labour) asked the Secretary of State

for the Colonies whether he had been consulted before this amendment to the Penal Code had been made and whether he was aware of the grave abuse such regulations were open to. Mr. Lyttelton replied: "I was consulted, and, in view of the abuse and intimidation which were being carried on under the guise of 'peaceful picketing', I authorised the introduction of the amendment which is careful not to prohibit watching and besetting in furtherance of a trade dispute, and which enjoins that no prosecution shall be instituted without the written consent of the Attorney General."

#### PROPOSAL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR NORTHERN RHODESIA

Four motions will be introduced by Mr. John Gaunt, Independent Member for Midlands, during the coming session of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. On the African Congress, Mr. Gaunt will move: "That this House appoints a select committee to inquire into the constitution, finances and activities of the African Congress, to report back to the House its findings together with any recommendations it may deem desirable to make as a result of its investigations." On land tenure he asks for amending legislation to be introduced "forthwith"; and urges the need for new legislation "to ensure that political control within European areas shall be permanently retained by the Europeans." Mr. Gaunt's plea for self-government is contained in the motion: "That this House compares the population and financial and other resources of this territory with those of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia when self-government was granted to it in 1923, and respectfully requests the Secretary of State for the Colonies to set in motion the necessary legislative machinery to enable the immediate grant of self-government to the territory of Northern Rhodesia." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 14, 1954.)

#### TRANSFER OF PRISONERS TO THE UNION

On June 16, 1954, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P. (Labour) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would prevent the transfer of African prisoners in Northern Rhodesia to South African prisons; Sir Leslie Plummer, M.P., asked why, if the ordinance making possible this transfer was intended to apply only to South African nationals, this was not stated. Mr. Lyttelton replied that as he had stated previously, the intention was to transfer only South African nationals who were to serve long term sentences. The Northern Rhodesian Government would naturally satisfy themselves as to the conditions to which the prisoners were being transferred. In reply to a further question from Mr. Brockway, he said: "The Hon. Member's apprehensions would have more foundation if it were not that the Governor may be relied upon to bring all the relevant matters into consideration. So far I have given instructions that no one is to be transferred from Northern Rhodesia without reference to the Secretary of State."

Sir Leslie Plummer then asked whether in view of the comparatively inhuman conditions in which Non-Europeans have to live in South African gaols there could be a reciprocal arrangement whereby Northern Rhodesians and Nyasalanders would be returned to their countries from gaols in the Union, and Mr. Lyttelton replied that this matter was under discussion. He emphasised that although the Northern Rhodesian Govern-

ment did not have the right to inspect conditions in prisons to which prisoners might be sent, they would have to satisfy him that the conditions and the reasons for making the transfer were sufficient.

#### TEACHERS WARNED AGAINST POLITICS

"The teaching service does not provide posts for politician-teachers," Mr. J. E. Cottrell, Director of African Education, told the opening session of the Northern Rhodesian African Teachers' Association in Lusaka. He addressed a "special word" to those persons who might hope to continue indulging in political propaganda and subversive activities while employed as teachers, saying that both teachers and school managers had now exactly six months to study the new regulations. "A teacher who oversteps the limits of the political restrictions imposed upon him may easily become involved in disciplinary action leading to his dismissal from the service," said Mr. Cottrell. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 19, 1954.)

## Nyasaland

#### THE INTER-RACIAL ASSOCIATION

*The Nyasaland Times* (June 4, 1954) commented editorially on the newly formed Inter-Racial Association. "The Association will work for practical partnership. It will eschew politics and has stated its loyalty to the Crown. It will do 'all things which will promote better understanding and improve race relations' . . . Across the Association's banner obviously will be emblazoned the words 'Practical Partnership' for in those two words lies its essence. The accent must lie on the word 'Practical' and the Association will be aware of that. In this age where sincerity dies easily, it is imperative that the Association's Constitution does not remain merely a well-written document, composed perhaps by sincere men, but becomes an active living force practised and preached by men of action . . . All of us realise that the progress of Nyasaland and the Federation depends finally on harmonious race relations. The Association can be the instrument to translate this ideal into reality."

#### SIR GODFREY HUGGINS ON NYASALAND'S PROSPECTS

Describing his extended tour of Nyasaland, Sir Godfrey Huggins said the country would undoubtedly make its net contribution to Federation in time, and was already making a contribution in the form of African labour. He added that Nyasaland's development might not be as rapid as that of the two Rhodesias, because it was mainly based on agriculture, but it would probably be all the sounder for that.

On the question of the composition of the Legislative Council<sup>1</sup> Sir Godfrey said "The system of representation in . . . (Nyasaland) is none of our business, in terms of the constitution. We are not concerned about getting a co-ordinated system of African representation in the three territories. All I asked Mr. Lyttelton was whether the proposals he was discussing would affect the federal set-up. When he said 'no' I left it at that." (*Federation Newsletter*, May 21, 1954.)

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2.

# SOUTH AFRICA

## NEW LAWS

### THE COLOURED FRANCHISE<sup>1</sup>

THE PRIME MINISTER, Dr. Malan, and the Nationalist Government failed by nine votes in their attempt to get a two-thirds majority to enable them to remove Coloured voters from the Common roll. In moving the third reading, Dr. Malan said the debate marked one of the most critical moments in the political history of the country. If a two-thirds majority were not achieved, the struggle would be continued, and in the main the coming provincial elections would be fought on the Coloured vote issue. "If the European population were to be saved, it must be in this generation. It was now or never."

### WESTERN AREAS REMOVAL SCHEME

In a report issued on June 1, 1954, the South African Institute of Race Relations described the plan for Meadowlands<sup>2</sup> drawn up by the Johannesburg Municipality as "showing a most attractive lay-out. Natural features have been utilised to advantage in the planning of parks and open spaces and about one-third of the land available has been set aside for recreational purposes." The plan includes the following amenities: crèches, two cinemas, a community centre and shops, thirty-six church sites, twelve schools, two markets, tennis courts, soccer fields, rugby grounds and a swimming bath site. "No house will be more than about 200-300 yards from an open space. Monotonous dead straight streets are not part of the scheme, many of them curving to give variation. Three hundred houses, built by the Municipality, are already complete and the Government is working on a further 1,006, completing eight houses per day. These are built of brick with corrugated asbestos roofs and consist of three rooms and a kitchen with independent lavatories. Water and sewerage points are provided for each house and electricity is supplied for street lighting." The report concludes: "It seems that a real effort is being made to establish a considerably more attractive township than any of those of the past."

A senior official of the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria said gangs of agitators are at work whose aim is to stir up resistance to the removal of Native families from Johannesburg's "black spots" (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 7, 1954). He added that the department plans to build nearly 10,000 houses on the 731 morgen at Meadowlands and Diepkloof, making an average population of 6.1 to the acre . . . Until schools, shops and an administrative centre had been built, however, no families will be moved.

Father Huddleston, chairman of the Western Areas Protest Committee, denied the statement that gangs were stirring up resistance and said that the use of expressions such as "gangs of agitators" was obviously calculated to discredit the protest movement. "The Protest Committee represents a very wide body of opinion in Johannesburg. We are agitators only in the sense that we oppose injustice." He added that it was "most fascinating to see that every time a statement about Meadowlands is issued, new amenities and more houses are promised." If this meant no one would be moved till the

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>The area to which 70,000 or more Africans are to be moved from the Western Areas of Johannesburg. See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 2. etc.

crèches, community centres and cinemas are built, "we can be very happy, for it is most unlikely that the present Government will be in office fifteen years hence." (*Rand Daily Mail*.)

In editorial comment, the *Rand Daily Mail* (June 9, 1954) pointed out that those Africans who had been living in a leaking shanty in a backyard and paying an exorbitant rent for this kennel, were most probably looking forward to moving into a three-roomed house at Meadowlands "but sooner or later, Dr. Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs) must come to the hard core of his problem. His clearance squads will reach the decent, perfectly habitable houses, many of which are the property of Native families who have lived there all their lives."

### LABOUR RELATIONS

The Industrial Conciliation Bill was read a second time in the House of Assembly and then referred to a select committee under a motion by the Minister of Labour.

In the course of his reply to the debate, the Minister, Mr. J. B. Schoeman, said the Government was determined to protect the wage standards of the Europeans. At the same time it was prepared to allow economic advancement of the non-Europeans, but not at the expense of the European workers. Racial survival was the first priority. There were matters far more important than economic theories. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 3, 1954.) The Minister also said that the provision in the bill dealing with the right to strike was exactly the same as the one in the existing legislation. It was only the wording that was different. Replying to criticism that the Bill brought *apartheid* into trade unions Mr. Schoeman said that under the existing Act, trade unions could be registered on a racial basis and more than one racial union could be registered. Nobody ever suggested that that would destroy collective bargaining . . . It was argued that non-Europeans could be exploited if separation took place. That could happen to-day, but there was a provision which enabled the Minister to withhold publication of any agreement if there was exploitation. (*Pretoria News*, June 2, 1954.)

The Political Correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* (June 4, 1954) reported that he had been told "the merger of the three main groups of South African trade unions has been brought about on the understanding that the Native unions will be shut out". These groups were the Trades and Labour Council, the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions and the Cape Western Federation of Labour Unions. "The all-Native unions will not be allowed in the new merger at all, and mixed trade unions will have to drop their Native members or stay out, too. But this is only 'semi-apartheid', because many of the unions in the new merger will have Coloured and Indian members and will be allowed to keep them."

Commenting on the merger, Mr. Marais Steyn, chief of the United Party Labour group, said: "The United Party particularly welcomes the step because it has always felt that the divisions in the ranks of the trade unionists have not been in the interests of South Africa." Mr. Alec Hepple, the Labour Party leader, said: "This is a wonderful step forward and a necessary one because the only way the workers have to defend their interests is through unity."

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, said that even if the Industrial Conciliation Bill aims at increasing the value of workers' associations it will only



succeed in causing the disintegration and eventual destruction of the trade union movement in South Africa . . . "The division of employees into racial groups in the long run cannot be in the interests of any group, for the colour of a worker's skin is entirely irrelevant when considering wages and conditions of employment." The Bishop pointed out that if it could be shown that the Bill threatened the trade unions it was a matter of concern for every thoughtful citizen, for its enactment was bound to lead to dissatisfaction, unrest, and the general dislocation of the system of collective bargaining, industrial conciliation and self-government which had been built up so laboriously in South Africa during the past thirty years. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June, 1954.)

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has filed a protest with the International Labour Organisation against the South African Government's actions in depriving Native workers of freedom of association, and threatening the elementary trade union rights which most other workers still enjoy.<sup>1</sup>

### EDUCATION

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, described the effects of the Bantu Education Act in the Senate. He said the radical change was the conversion of mission schools to community schools. Arrangements would be made which would safeguard the churches as far as was possible and reasonable against financial loss. The training of teachers should be undertaken by the education authorities and there would be no interference with the training by the churches of people like evangelists, missionaries or ministers. Primary schools would, as soon as possible, be transferred to local Bantu controlling bodies under the supervision of the Native Affairs Department. Secondary, industrial and training schools would come under the direct control of the Department until regional and territorial Bantu authorities are able to undertake the task under the necessary supervision. (*Pretoria News*, June 7, 1954.)

Addressing the Christian Council of South Africa, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Geoffrey Clayton, said some recent legislation and administrative action appeared to many churchmen as being contrary to the principles of religious liberty. There was a danger, however, of confusing personal opinions and desires with the eternal principles of righteousness. They must be careful not to claim things which no Government has, or ever could, grant. The preservation of religious freedom required eternal vigilance. "I have no doubt that there never was a time or a country in which that vigilance was more needed than it is needed here and now. What lies at the back of too much policy in South Africa is fear, and fear is a terribly dangerous guide. Don't let there be any fear in the church. Many of the things which most of us believe to be wrong about policy in South Africa to-day spring directly from fear."

Dr. A. Kerr, principal of Fort Hare, said at the meeting that the choice offered to mission schools by the Government under the Bantu Education Act was, in effect, a "sentence of death". The Christian Council has decided to call a conference of educational experts of all Churches in the Union to consider

<sup>1</sup>Under the Industrial Conciliation Act (1937) Africans are not included as employees and are therefore not entitled to set up trade unions empowered to conduct collective negotiations, nor to be members of unions legally recognised.

what united representations should be made to the Government. (*South Africa*, June 5, 1954.)

Commenting on the reasons for opposition to Dr. Verwoerd's Bantu education policy, the *Rand Daily Mail* (June 5, 1954) said that nothing Dr. Verwoerd has said will dispel the impression that his "new system" will mean a form of education approved by the Nationalist Party. "Bantu education, as everyone knows, has been inadequate and bad. Dr. Verwoerd himself admits that most of the Native children who do go to school pass only sub-standard A or B of Standard I. What a pity the Government doesn't make this point in the publicity it sends overseas boasting of the thousands of Native children who are being educated in schools in South Africa. Poor as Bantu education has been, however, the best part of it has been done by the Missions . . . Why then is Dr. Verwoerd so anxious to take Bantu education out of the hands of the Missions? One of his satellites, Mr. de Wet Nel of Wonderboom, supplies the answer. Mission schools, he says, were using education to stir up the Natives against the Europeans. But then almost any education can be interpreted (by the Nationalists) as matter intended for stirring up the Natives."

### RAID ON "RESIST APARTHEID" MEETING

A hundred police armed with rifles and Sten guns raided a "resist apartheid" conference in Johannesburg. It was announced to the 1,200 delegates by a senior police official that a case of treason was being investigated. The conference, which was convened by the African and Indian Congresses, the Congress of Democrats, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation and non-European trade unions, was opened by Father Trevor Huddleston, and among the observers was Father R. Raynes, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, who is visiting the Union from England. Representatives of the Liberal Party were also present.

Special Branch men took all names and addresses, including those of the press. At the meeting Father Huddleston said: "I do not see why the policy and principles of Dr. Verwoerd should be labelled South African." The Minister's policy gave "no place for the African in the European community. Father Huddleston said he had no personal quarrel with Dr. Verwoerd, but "I hate the policy, and I hate the principles which he proclaims . . . I identify myself wholly with the non-European people of South Africa in their struggle against unjust and discriminatory laws." (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 28, 1954.)

Three Members of Parliament, Mr. L. Lovell, Mr. A. Hepple and Mr. H. Davidoff sent a telegram of protest to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart in which they said: "The raid by a heavily armed posse of police at a peaceful meeting . . . was an act of provocation and an outrage to democratic government and the right of public assembly." (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 29, 1954.)

### NEWS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The South African Liberal Party, at its first provincial congress in the Cape, passed a resolution recommending "that all steps consistent with its own declared policy should be taken to co-operate with the African National Congress in its struggle for the removal of all discrimination against the African people." (*Pretoria News*, May 31, 1954.)

The final result of the Natal Provincial election was United Party, 21 seats; Nationalist Party, 4. The Federal, Liberal

and Labour Parties failed to win a seat. The political correspondent of *The Star* (Johannesburg) summed up United Party opinion by saying that the eclipse of the splinter parties shows that the main struggle is still between those who believe in the co-operation of the two White groups and those who think that the Afrikaner group can work out the salvation of the country on its own. (*South Africa*, June 26, 1954.)

#### INDIA CLOSES HIGH COMMISSION

The Indian Government, in reply to a desire expressed by the South African Government, decided to close the office of the Indian High Commission in Cape Town on July 1. In an exchange of notes, South Africa expressed unwillingness to continue to accept the anomalous position of India's having diplomatic relations with the Union and at the same time maintaining trade sanctions against it. In the course of its reply India said the position of Union citizens of Indian origin had steadily deteriorated, in spite of resolutions passed by the United Nations, and as the Union Government desired to break the existing slender link, there was no alternative but to fall into line with their wishes.

Future contact will be maintained directly, or through their High Commissioners in London. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 26, 1954.)

Commenting, the *Daily Herald* (June 29, 1954) said: "When diplomatic relations are broken between two countries of the Commonwealth, obviously that is a startling situation and the British Government must show clearly where it stands . . . This is the culmination of a long quarrel over the treatment of the Indian community living in South Africa. Their injustices under South African laws have been exceeded only by the miseries inflicted on the African population . . . The cause of the oppressed Indian in South Africa has become the same.

"The British Government is in this dispute whether or not it wants to be. No British Government can afford to appease South African racialism any longer . . . A British Government can have no compromise with racialism in the Commonwealth if Africans are to trust our sincerity. Britain must make herself abundantly clear about this, or resign interest in the African continent."

#### IMMIGRATION

Last year 10,220 White people left South Africa for good. Just over 7,000 of them went north to the Rhodesias to settle. It is a fair assumption that the great majority were English-speaking South Africans. In return the Union received 16,257 newcomers, of whom only 5,425 were British. Commenting on this, *South Africa* (London, June 26, 1954) said "These are disquieting figures" and pointed out that to judge by what some of their more influential supporters say, the Nationalists are quite satisfied with their immigration policy which did nothing to encourage new blood.

#### REFUSAL OF PASSPORT TO AFRICAN PROFESSOR

Professor Z. K. Matthews, of Fort Hare University College, has been refused a passport to attend a world race relations conference in Hawaii. The Department of the Interior had given him no reason for the refusal. The conference is being sponsored by the Universities of Hawaii, California and Chicago and its theme is "Race relations in world perspective". About thirty scholars and experts, specially chosen to bring

together the best theoretical knowledge in the field, will attend. (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, June 6, 1954.) Professor Matthews was the Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity at Union Theological Seminary in New York, in 1952.

## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

#### UNION PARLIAMENT TAKES OVER NATIVE AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION

ONE OF the Acts passed by the Union Parliament at its last session was the South-West Africa Native Affairs Administration Act under which the Department of Native Affairs in the Union has taken over Native Affairs in the Mandated Territory, previously administered by the South-West Administration. The Act provides for the transfer to the South African Native Trust of all land in South-West Africa set aside for the sole use and occupation of the Natives. A special section of the Native trust is to be established for South-West Africa with separate accounts for the Territory. All money paid into this section will be used exclusively for the purposes prescribed by law in pursuance of which the money accrues.

Provision is also made for the annual transfer to the Union Government from the South-West Africa Revenue Fund of the amount normally devoted by the Territory to Native Affairs. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, April 23, 1954.)

The *Windhoek Advertiser* also reported (May 7, 1954) that "only recently, the Union Government took complete control of the Immigration Department of South-West Africa" and said there "was a visible reaction from the German section of the community who are definitely opposed to South-West becoming a fifth province" to the taking over of Native Affairs. "In figures, the Union Government . . . now governs 39 per cent of the Territory's occupied land." The United National South-West Party (United Party) "claim that the move (to get control over South-West African labour reserves) was made after Mr. Oppenheimer had indicated to the Union Prime Minister that Union mines would need 80,000 more Natives to increase the mining output in the Union. They also claim that the Union has made a mess of its own Native Affairs and that the unrest which is evident in the Union to-day, would be transferred to South-West as well, where Native affairs were run on model lines."

Moving the second reading of the Bill, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in the Union had said the Bill was the outcome of a joint inquiry by a commission of officials of the Department of Natives Affairs and the South-West African Administration. He said the measure was considered necessary for the effective conduct of South-West African Native Affairs. There was not the slightest intention to remove any of South-West Africa's Native labour for the Union's purposes. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 2, 1954.)

Mr. J. G. Strauss, leader of the Opposition pointed out that the present system had worked well in the past, and asked what consultation there had been with the inhabitants of South-West Africa before this step was taken. The commission mentioned by the Minister had not been a commission at all, but an inter-departmental committee.

From correspondence and editorial comment in the *Windhoek*



*Advertiser* (the only English language newspaper in South-West Africa) there appears to be some misgiving over the increasing control by the South African Parliament. One correspondent wrote: "I challenge any one of these gentlemen (S.W.A. Members of Parliament) to tell us in what way South-West Africa would gain any advantage or benefit in becoming a fifth province of the Union."

#### U.N. COMMITTEE ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Laws governing the movement of Non-Europeans in South-West Africa were criticised by members of the seven-nation United Nations committee. Mr. Rifai of Syria, said that anyone reading these laws who was interested in the humane treatment of animals would find them "objectionable". "They seem to be designed for cattle not people" he added. The Committee agreed on the following comment on the laws in their report to the General Assembly: "The Committee feels that such measures are clearly inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the mandate system and in the opinion of the committee any comment on these points would be superfluous." (*Pretoria News*, June 16, 1954.)

The Committee has been considering a lengthy report based largely on official sources because the South African Government has refused to submit reports to it. Commenting on this, the *Windhoek Advertiser* (May 28, 1954) said "Much is being said and not one South-West African voice is ever heard. It is up to the Legislative Assembly now to decide if they want the matter to remain as it is or if they want the world to know the truth. This will not be easy to decide. Both the Union and South-West have no intention to recognise the authority of U.N.O. over the mandate and if this attitude is not relaxed then of course the matter must remain as it is and the world must remain in ignorance."

A United Nations Press Release (June 25, 1954) reported that the U.N. Committee's observations on conditions in South-West Africa concluded with the following remarks:

"The Committee wishes to observe that, after thirty-five years of administration under the Mandate System, the Native inhabitants are still not participating in the political development of the Territory, that their participation in the economic development is restricted to that of labourers and that the social and educational services for their benefit are still far from satisfactory. The Committee regrets the failure of the Union Government to resume submission of reports on the administration of the territory of South-West Africa as well as their failure to appoint a duly authorised representative to meet with the Committee in order to examine the information and documentation that was available to it, with the view of preparing the present report."

#### PASSPORT REFUSAL—REPRESENTATIONS MADE

The U.N. Committee on South-West Africa has recommended the General Assembly to ask its President to intercede with the South African Government to secure a passport for Berthold Himumuine, the Herero tribesman, to enable him to take up an Oxford scholarship.<sup>1</sup> (*Manchester Guardian*, June 26, 1954.)

The *Sunday Express*, Johannesburg (June 6, 1954) drew attention to the *Manchester Guardian* editorial recounting the case of the South African Government's refusal to give

Himumuine a passport, and commented: "Now here is a man who obviously wants to rise above what we might call his station or we might call his environs. He has already done that, and he has been rewarded by the offer of a scholarship to Oxford University. He cannot achieve the ultimate because the administration of South-West Africa falls under the Union Government. And the Union has refused him a passport . . . Presumably this passport business falls under the jurisdiction of Dr. Donges, the Minister of the Interior. If so, we would like to say to Dr. Donges that men such as Himumuine have shown by their efforts and their achievements that they can be the future allies of the White man in this land. Are we to drive them out of our camp or to welcome them? . . . Are you not going a little too far in withholding knowledge from one of your fellows (for knowledge is life)? The matter goes further, but you must work that out for yourself. Try St. John, Chapter 15."

In a letter to the *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Mr. John M. Gilbert, said: "Himumuine attained his very considerable educational qualifications by his own hard work and postal tuition and I doubt whether there is any other African in South-West who could make better use of an Oxford scholarship. But in the eyes of the Government Berthold is a 'criminal'; not because he broke any law, but because a few years ago he openly helped his own people, the Hereros, to present their case against the incorporation of South-West Africa into the Union . . . before the United Nations Organisation. The refusal of a passport is evidently the Government's interpretation of their obligation under the Mandate to work for the welfare of the Native inhabitants of the territory!"

## HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

#### CALL FOR LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in London has published correspondence with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs in its *Reporter* (May, 1954). Pointing out that while most British territories in Africa have progressed steadily towards self-government and all of them, except Somaliland, have a legislature, Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, the Secretary of the Society, said "the three High Commission territories continue to have the constitution given to them when they became British territories."<sup>2</sup> His Committee felt it was time that a further step was taken "and that each territory be granted a Legislature and an Executive Council."

"Basutoland has had a National Council 'for discussing the domestic affairs of Basutoland' ever since 1898. Bechuanaland has had a Native Advisory Council and a European Advisory Council since 1920. These two have met in joint session since 1949. The Paramount Chief of Swaziland has been advised by a Privy Council (Liquoquo) from time immemorial and there has been a European Advisory Council since 1921. These bodies offer advice to the British administration and it is generally agreed that the standard of debate in them has steadily risen from year to year.

<sup>2</sup>Basutoland in 1868, Bechuanaland 1885 and Swaziland in 1909.

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. 2, No. 1.

"Lord Hailey has made the following comment on the National Council of Basutoland in Part V of his *Native Administration in the British African Territories* (p. 140): 'The extension to Basutoland of constitutional advance seems to be implicit in the many declarations made on the authority of the British Government regarding the political development of British territories in general . . . with this object in view, attention must be concentrated in the first instance on the formation of a Legislature, for unless we are to abandon the principles which have hitherto regulated political thought in the United Kingdom the Legislature must be the ultimate source of all executive and administrative power . . . It is clear that the National Council as now constituted is not qualified to act in this sense as a Legislature, since it is not fully representative of certain important interests, such for example as the European traders who have a major part in the commerce of the country. Further it is proper that the Legislature should include representatives of the official Government. With this form of Legislature, it should be possible to arrange for a logical division of Central and Local Government functions, thus making it feasible to provide increasing devolution of central activities to local bodies.'

"This applies with equal force to the other two territories."

In the course of his reply (April 3, 1954) Mr. W. A. W. Clark, of the Commonwealth Relations Office, referred to a letter he had written on August 16, 1951, "in which it was emphasised that it would be unwise to hasten the process of developing more representative and responsible institutions in the Territories until such time as the bulk of the African population has become accustomed to the working of a responsible and representative system of local government in the village, the parish and the district. This stage is far from having been reached in the High Commission Territories." He added that Lord Hailey had not set any time-table for political development at the centre for the Territories "and in regard to Bechuanaland he has observed that it would seem advisable that no proposals for the creation of a legislative body in the Protectorate should be entertained until definite progress has been made with the development of Local Councils."

## COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH MATTERS

### OVERSEA CIVIL SERVICE

ON OCTOBER 1, 1954, the "Colonial Service" comes to an end and is replaced by the "Oversea Civil Service". White Paper Colonial 306 points out that it is of primary importance to countries heading towards self-government that their progress would not be hindered by "the premature loss of experienced staff or by failure to attract new staff which they may require". The Government is aware of certain obligations to members of the service who are employed in a country that becomes self-governing, these include assurances with regard to terms of service, pensions and in cases of premature retirement result-

ing from constitutional changes. All officers now employed in the Colonial Service will become members of the Oversea Civil Service and "whether any particular vacancy, in the filling of which the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government is invited, should be filled by a member of Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service or on the basis of appointment to a purely local service, will be a matter for arrangement between Her Majesty's Government and the territorial government concerned."

### COLONIAL SECRETARY'S REVIEW

Mr. Lyttelton in a speech at the annual dinner of the Corona Club, reviewed the year's events in the Colonies. He said how deeply impressed he had been with two things: the high level of the discussions upon the Nigerian constitution, and the notable contribution which political leaders in Nigeria made to those discussions. "Anybody who has access to the full minutes would, I think, agree with me that not only the new constitution, but also the discussions which led up to its formation, are the happiest augury, not only in Nigeria but elsewhere in Africa, for the political evolution in which, in varying degrees and under varying circumstances these various territories are engaged."

Commenting on the reorganisation of the Colonial Service Mr. Lyttelton said: "It is clear that as progress towards self-government is made, the powers of control conferred upon the Secretary of State must in practice be modified. A territory cannot be given self-government and the Colonial Secretary retain the strings in his own hands. Therefore two lines of action appear to us to be essential. First, where a new constitution is under discussion, as for example in Nigeria, necessary safeguards for the public service should be embodied in the constitutional instrument . . ." and secondly, "What is to happen in these territories which in the fairly near future achieve independence of any control by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom? I believe that in general they will want to go on having the help of their friends who have served them so well, and that the officers of the Colonial Service, too, will for the most part be anxious to carry on with the work they know and love. But of course there will be some officers who cannot stay on, yet do not want to retire, and Her Majesty's Government, as far as lies in their power, must do their best to find other posts for them." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 24, 1954.)

### REPORT ON AFRICAN HOUSING<sup>1</sup>

This paper has been prepared by the Housing Adviser to the Colonial Office, Mr. G. A. Atkinson, in collaboration with the Colonial Housing and Town Planning Advisory Panel and the African, Finance and Social Service Departments of the Colonial Office, and has been sent to the Governments of the British African territories with the object of making available in convenient form an analysis of experience gained in the Colonial territories and in the United Kingdom. It considers the aims of housing policy, urban land policies, finance, standards of housing, housing of government employees and the importance of layout and site preparation, and describes methods of encouraging house-ownership. The responsibility for social housing within the machinery of government is another section.

<sup>1</sup>H.M. Stationery Office, Colonial No. 303, 1s. 3d.

## COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

Moneys issued last year for approved schemes under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts totalled £13,907,330, of which £1,250,000 was for research according to the annual return of schemes published as a White Paper.<sup>1</sup> Among the details given was that for the scholarship scheme to provide residents in overseas territories with pre-selection training to qualify for the higher grades of the public service—£201,000 and grants for the welfare of colonial students when outside colonial territories—£263,151.

## COLONIAL AND RACE RELATIONS STUDIES

Commenting on Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's donation of £100,000 and the British Government's addition of £50,000 to set up a new centre for colonial studies in Oxford, to be called Queen Elizabeth House, *The Times* (June 24, 1954) pointed out that this was the third such gift to be given to Oxford recently. Last June Mr. R. L. Prain, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, had announced that his group of companies were endowing a Chair of Race Relations at Oxford, and the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant for colonial studies to Nuffield College. The editorial emphasised the need for a central institution in colonial studies "under whose umbrella the multitude of groups and individuals concerned with colonial affairs can shelter" and added "Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's generosity is shrewdly directed."

Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood, lecturer at Natal University in South Africa, has been appointed Rhodes Professor to the Chair of Race Relations at Oxford.

In Central Africa the Salisbury Round Table is sponsoring an appeal for donations for the endowment of a Chair of Race Relations, Political Philosophy and Allied Subjects at the Central African University. The aim will be "to create a centre, not only for the study of the causes of antagonisms in multi-racial communities, and of the measures which might remove or reduce such antagonisms; but also, for the wide dissemination of the results of such study. It is believed that the establishment of such a centre . . . should lead to a better understanding of all facets of this vital problem and of their possible solutions, not only by the inhabitants of multi-racial communities, but also by all those throughout the world who have interests in seeing racial harmony achieved in such communities."

<sup>1</sup>Cmd. 181, Stationery Office, 1s.

## BOOK LIST

### CENTRAL AFRICA

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COLSON, E., and GLUCKMAN, MAX (ed.). *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1951. Symposium on social organisation of the tribes of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

DAVIDSON, J. W. *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948. (Studies in Colonial Legislatures, ed. Margery Perham, Vol. III.) The constitutional evolution of the country, with special attention to the political advance of the White Settlers and to Native administration.

HAILEY, LORD. *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, Part II. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950.

RICHARD, AUDREY I. *Land Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*. Oxford University Press, 1939. An economic study of the Bemba tribe by a leading social anthropologist.

TEW, MARY. *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*. Published by the Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1950. Comprehensive survey and summary of published material regarding the tribes around Lake Nyasa.

See also:

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—and the following pamphlets

CREECH JONES, ARTHUR. *African Challenge; The Fallacy of Federation*. Africa Bureau, 1952.

CHIEFS AND CITIZENS OF NYASALAND. *A Petition to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*. Africa Bureau, 1953.

LEWIN, JULIUS. *Britain's Colour Bar in Africa*. U.D.C., 1952. *Our Trust in Central Africa* (partly based on material supplied by the Africa Bureau). Nat. Peace Council, 1953.

*The Editor of the Digest does not necessarily endorse the views of the correspondents.*

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